

MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA REVIEW

22 APRIL 1982

Lebanon

Israeli Air Raid -- About 60 Israeli F-15 and F-16 aircraft bombed Ad-'Damur, An-Na'imah, Harit an-Na'imah, Ad-Dawhah and Mazbud during the afternoon of 21 April, the clandestine Voice of Palestine radio reported. According to Voice of Lebanon radio, at least 25 people were killed in the raid, which also extended to Sabra and Al-Fakhani. A Syrian military spokesman said in a statement reported by SANA that two Syrian planes were hit when they engaged the raiders. Although the Syrian spokesman claimed that an Israeli plane was also hit, the IDF spokesman said all Israeli aircraft returned safely to base, according to Jerusalem radio. The IDF spokesman noted that two Syrian MiG-23's were downed.

Israeli Chief of Staff Lt Gen Refa'el Eytan said the raid was a response to terrorist violations of the cease-fire which had "gone beyond the limit". Speaking in an interview reported by Jerusalem radio, Eytan said the Israeli planes had struck at three terrorist bases, including a naval base belonging to Ahmad Jirril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command. According to IDF radio, Eytan told a news conference that there were no civilian buildings near the targets, which were south of Beirut and north of Sidon. The Israeli aircraft also hit a Syrian radar installation at 'Aramun, according to Voice of Lebanon radio. Noting that some of the Israeli-Syrian air battles occurred over the Al-Biq'a Valley, where Syrian surface-to-air missiles were fired at Israeli planes, the radio cited unconfirmed reports that Israeli planes had attacked the missile sites.

Status of Cease-Fire -- The IDF attack on terrorist bases does not necessarily mean the end of the cease-fire, Lt Gen Eytan said in an interview with Jerusalem radio. If the terrorists do not fire and stop their activity against Jewish targets in "Eretz Yisrael" and abroad, the cease-fire will be maintained, he added. Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir likewise said quiet will prevail if the terrorists stop their attacks, Jerusalem radio reported. In remarks broadcast by the radio, IDF Intelligence Chief Yehoshu'a Sagi said the raid was a warning to the terrorists to return to the cease-fire. Israel does not want to start cleaning up southern Lebanon, he said.

However, a Palestinian military official said the Israeli attack ends the cease-fire and joint forces in the south are awaiting instructions from Beirut in order to respond to the raid, according to AFP. A Palestinian military spokesman said in a statement broadcast by the Voice of Palestine that the Palestinian revolution knows how and when to reply to the attack. The radio also commented that there is no reason to believe Israel's claim that the raid was a limited reprisal. The matter is bigger than that, it said, and the Palestinians are ready for all possibilities. PLO Political Department Chief Faruq Qaddumi said after meeting the UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar that the attack unfortunately means escalation of the conflict and leaves the PLO no alternative but to retaliate, KUNA reported. Earlier, the Voice of Palestine noted that PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat sent De Cuellar a note calling on the UN secretary general to take immediate measures to stop Israel's new aggression. In a statement broadcast by the radio, Amal movement Chairman Nabih Birri called on Amal members to set aside differences and unite with the Palestinians, Syrians and Lebanese nationalists against Israel.

Israeli-Egyptian-U.S. Relations

Israeli Reportage -- U.S. President Ronald Reagan's 20 April letter to Prime Minister Menahem Begin is of "great significance" to the security of Israel, according to an Israeli Cabinet statement read by the Cabinet secretary over Jerusalem radio. After announcing that Israel will evacuate its forces and civilians from that Sinai by 25 April, the Israeli Government expressed its hope that the peace treaty with Egypt will be carried out "faithfully and punctiliously" and that it will open a new era of establishing peace throughout the whole Middle East. The government also called upon Israeli citizens in Yamit to leave voluntarily and avoid confrontations with the IDF.

On 21 April the IDF evacuated 700 opponents of the Sinai withdrawal from Yamit, Jerusalem radio reported.

In his letter to Begin, Reagan promised that if Egypt violates the peace treaty the United States will supply Israel with the means to help it defend itself, according to Jerusalem radio. A senior source at the prime minister's office, cited by Jerusalem television, stated that Israel has "gained a letter of guarantee" from the United States for at least 5 years, the period of autonomy.

Jerusalem radio claimed that in talks between U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Walter Stoessel and Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon a secret annex was agreed upon regarding U.S. commitments to Israel, but the radio later cited U.S. sources in Israel who denied that any secret agreements were reached.

The Cabinet has authorized the foreign and defense ministers to conduct negotiations with Egypt and reach an agreement on the border demarcation issue, Jerusalem television reported. Pending conclusion of the negotiations, IDF forces will withdraw to the international border recognized by Israel, the television added.

Egyptian Reportage -- The Egyptian Cabinet agreed that Egypt "always affirms" its and Israel's commitment to the provisions of the Camp David accords, to peace and to generating momentum in the autonomy talks in order to attain a comprehensive and lasting peace in the region, Minister of State for Information Safwat ash-Sharif announced in a statement broadcast by Cairo radio. The Cabinet and all of Egypt consider the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty and the return of the Sinai to Egypt as a historic step in Egyptian-Israeli relations and in attaining a stable Middle East, the statement said.

Because Israel has not violated its commitments, there is no justification for the proposition that Egypt would freeze the Camp David accords, Foreign Ministry Under Secretary Usamah al-Baz stated in remarks reported by MENA. Asserting that the disputed Tabah area covers 1,020 square meters of desert without any sign of life, Al-Baz said the issue will be resolved in the next few days through conciliation or arbitration with the help of the United States.

Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali announced that talks with Stoessel on 22 April will deal with the Tabah border dispute, Cairo radio reported.

Iran-Iraq Conflict

The recent peace plan submitted by a delegation of the Islamic Conference Organization (ICO) is far from the conditions Iran has in mind, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati stated at a press conference reported by Tehran radio. Velayati said the delegation's proposal, however, does contain some positive elements compared with previous proposals.

Iran rejected the peace initiative proposed by the Islamic Good Offices Committee during its recent visit to Iran, INA reported. The results of the committee's visit were explained by ICO Secretary General Habib Chatti and Guinea President Ahmed Sekou Toure during their talks in Baghdad with Iraqi leaders, according to INA.

The Islamic Good Offices Committee will continue its work, confident in its ability to achieve an "honorable" solution for both sides, Habib Chatti commented in a statement to SPA. He added that the road to peace is "still long and fraught with obstacles."

Afghanistan

Talks With Pakistan -- Indirect talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan on ending the Afghan crisis and on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan will begin on 15 June, according to an announcement by a UN spokesman reported by Karachi radio.

Fighting in Paktia -- A Soviet-built helicopter gunship was shot down and 44 Afghan or Soviet soldiers were killed by Afghan rebels in Paktia Province, AFP reported citing Afghan resistance sources.



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EXPRESS DEPLORES INDIANS' DETENTION IN PAKISTAN

BK220209 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English 8 Apr 82 p 6

[Editorial: "Pakistan Must Answer"]

[Text] The revelation, by a Pakistani paper itself, that 10 Indian nationals, including a woman, have been rotting in a Pakistani jail for 8 years is distressing. Holding their own people indefinitely and not bothering to send them up for trial is a fairly common practice for Pakistan's military dispensation. But one should have thought that at least foreign nationals would be treated a little differently if only for form's sake, all the more so if they were from a neighboring country with which Pakistan was supposed to be seeking friendly relations. The most shocking part of the story, as told by the Karachi daily HURRIYAT, is that these Indian detainees have been subjected to prolonged torture as a result of which six of them have not only lost their eyesight but their sanity as well.

According to that report, the ten Indians had submitted that they had legally entered Pakistan to meet their relatives. Had the Pakistani authorities any evidence of criminal or espionage activities on their part, they should have tried them in a court of law, or whatever passes for a court under martial law. Or, if the Pakistan administration had some reason to suspect them whatever that be, it could have expelled them. That would have been an infinitely more civilized act.

Another Karachi daily, AMAN, reports that Mr A.T. Ansari, leader of a Pakistani human rights association, has offered the Indian detainees free legal aid and demanded action against those responsible for their plight. All honor to him and his association for this brave gesture.

An Indian Embassy spokesman in Islamabad is reported to have said that all such cases of Indian civilian detainees have been brought to the notice of the Pakistan Government. Is that enough? Mr Narasimha Rao told Parliament last month that more than 300 Indian nationals were believed to be in Pakistani prisons. What about the missing Indian POWs? The wives and other relatives of those unfortunate soldiers have been crying about them. They hotly contest the Pakistani denials of their existence, now or earlier, in their hands. With the case of the ten tortured Indians now revealed, the onus of proving the truth of the Pakistani claims lies on Islamabad. It is strange indeed that Pakistan has behaved this way after India treated so well the thousands of Pakistani troops captured in the 1971 war. Delhi must impress upon the Pakistan Government what the Indian public thinks of it all.

HERALD: CONSENSUS ON NEED TO STRENGTHEN DEFENSE

BK211145 Delhi NATIONAL HERALD in English 16 Apr 82 p 7

[A.N. Das article: "The Defense Consensus"]

[Text] If the debate in Parliament on the demands for grant of the Defence Ministry is an indication, there exists a national consensus on the present security environment and on the urgent need to strengthen the country's defense. Whatever political differences may divide the government and the opposition parties, there is no divergence of opinion so far as defence is concerned in the context of developments in India's neighborhood, more particularly the massive arming of Pakistan as a "front line state" as part of the so-called "strategic consensus."

The Lok Sabha voted with unanimity the entire demands moved by Defence Minister R. Venkataraman thereby approving the steps proposed to meet the threat to the country's security.

Despite a sizeable increase in the defense budget for 1982-83, there was not the slightest suggestion from any quarter for even a small reduction of the amount. The defence minister rightly concluded, and proclaimed to the world, that so far as defence is concerned there is no difference of opinion in the country and that "we all stand together."

The debate showed no difference of opinion on the government's assessment that the expansion of bases by big powers in the Indian Ocean and its littoral areas and the creation of a Rapid Deployment Force threatened the stability of the area. Moreover, the transfer of sophisticated weapons far beyond Pakistan's legitimate needs would result in a significant qualitative and quantitative enhancement of that country's military capability.

It has been India's experience that any augmentation of Pakistan's military strength has resulted in its use against India. Moreover, Pakistan's continued efforts to achieve nuclear weapons capability further add to the sense of disquiet. Our defence planning cannot afford to ignore these developments, the Defence Ministry's latest annual report has stressed.

It would be very unrealistic for India, despite President Zia's offer of a no-war pact, not to take measures to maintain the military balance in the region.

The recent imposition of military rule by General Ershad in Bangladesh and a possible understanding developing between the two military regimes on the western and eastern borders of India adds a new dimension to the security environment. Just before the Bangladesh coup a high-power Chinese delegation led by the defence minister had visited Bangladesh. According to some reports, a military team from Dacca would proceed to Beijing soon to procure arms.

Mr Venkataraman briefly outlined in Parliament the short-term and long-term measures initiated to evolve an appropriate defence strategy and to build up defence preparedness while pursuing a policy of peace and friendship towards Pakistan and other neighbouring countries. The government is taking no risks.

However, the defence minister stated that our defence needs are limited to safeguarding our national sovereignty and territorial integrity because we do not want to play the role of a major power of a super-power. This appears to be adequate for our immediate purpose, but why should we limit our military potential to safeguarding only our national defence, and not aim at something higher? If we have to enjoy permanent peace against periodic threats posed by the militarisation of Pakistan, if we have to ensure for all time that the military balance of the region is not upset by dumping of sophisticated arms by any outside power, if we have to play our role effectively as a factor in the preservation of world peace, we must acquire the strength and status of a major power without being militarist in any way. India should aim at attaining a position where she will no longer be forced to follow Pakistan in an arms race.

The defence minister has been candid enough to say that though Pakistan after 1971 had reduced military responsibilities, yet it went on increasing its military strength. It is only when Pakistan entered into agreements to acquire more sophisticated weapons that we moved to match them. Moreover, Pakistan has been acquiring weapons which cannot be used against Afghanistan -- for instance ships and submarines. Lastly, the equipment received by Pakistan is being massed across our border. Therefore, the threat to our security has increased.

Despite this, the prime minister has gone one step further than a no-war pact and said we should have a treaty of friendship with Pakistan. But the fact that there is so much of explosives on one side makes it necessary for our country to keep at least the fire-fighting equipment ready. We prepare for any eventuality.

Mr Venkataraman told Parliament we are increasing our fire power and mobility and also improving our tank capacity. Efforts are also on to improve night fighting capacity. For the navy, there are plans for achieving balanced growth in all three dimensions -- on the surface, underwater and in the air. We are importing two modern submarines and two more will be assembled in India. The modernisation of the air force has also received due attention. We are producing advanced version of the MiG series and the acquisition-cum-manufacture of other versions is under consideration. The transport fleet is being reinforced by the AN-32 and the missile system is being improved. The Mirage-2000 has been evaluated and been recommended for purchase. Referring to Soviet Defence Minister Ustinov, Mr Venkataraman indicated that there were talks on the acquisition of the latest versions in the MiG family.

The first indigenously assembled deep penetration Jaguar had its inaugural flight at Bangalore on March 31. Besides 40 Jaguars from British Aerospace, 45 of this aircraft will be assembled at Hindustan Aeronautics, Bangalore, the last of them rolling out by 1985. Quite a few modifications would be incorporated in the assembly and manufacture of Jaguars to suit India's requirements and conditions.

Thus, with the acquisition and manufacture of the MiG family of aircraft, the Jaguars and hopefully the Mirage-2000, the Indian Air Force will become a formidable force to meet any challenge from Pakistan.

The development of a balanced navy however does not seem to have been accorded as great a priority as it deserves. The long coastline and India's stake in the Indian Ocean make it imperative that she possess a much bigger and more powerful navy. At present the allocation for the navy is only 13 percent of the total defence budget.

Replying to the debate, Mr Venkataraman said that the nuclear option was a national issue. While much may be said on both sides, he expressed the view that, on balance, the policy of utilising nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and our advocacy of nuclear disarmament were not only moral -- but also just. Some, however, wondered whether it was also realistic enough. Moreover, if Pakistan explodes a nuclear bomb, we may have to review our nuclear policy.

HERALD ASSESSES INDIAN COMMUNIST POLITICS

BK161000 Delhi NATIONAL HERALD in English 8 Apr 82 p 6

[Hari Jaisingh Article: "Echoes of Varanasi"]

[Text] Whither the CPI? The question has relevance to the future of left movement in the country.

If the Communist Party of India [CPI] thinks that people are watching it because of its strength, it is deluding itself. Politically it is not a big force. The public interest is only because the political line it adopts from time to time may have both domestic and international implications. It could also play the role of a catalytic agent, depending on the political situations and its own inclinations and compulsions.

At Bhatinda the CPI debated the pros and cons of the pro-Congress (I) line of Mr S. A. Dange in his presence; at Varanasi, the party discussed and debated the same problem, but in his absence. For the CPI leadership and its cadres, this is not an academic question. It is a problem of survival -- a complex one at that, in which its loyalty to the international communist movement and its fidelity to Moscow are involved.

The result of the 12th party congress at Varanasi, as was to be expected, was a compromise -- compromise in which the CPI tried to hide the predicaments and realities of its life by the decibel of its high-pitched resolutions.

Ever since the rise of the CPI(M) and its dominance in Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura, the CPI has been split into left and right factions, the left wanting unity with the CPI(M) and the right, understanding with the Congress(I) -- that is, with Mrs Indira Gandhi. Obviously, the CPI left-wing is in search of power; the right-wing stands by principles. For convenience I would call the two wings of the party as CPI (right) and CPI (left) respectively.

The CPI (right) acknowledges that the Congress(I) has the largest democratic force behind it, as also the vast rural masses, the minorities and the oppressed communities, all of which, according to its long-term perceptions, are essential for a democratic revolution, which is its final goal. Similarly, it does not and cannot ignore the Soviet perceptions of India's global role, particularly Mrs. Indira Gandhi's role.

The CPI (left) seems to have no such long-term considerations. It sees the CPI(M) as having the largest leftist force at its command (workers, peasants and others) and is well endowed with funds. Though it is convinced that the Marxists are far from being in a position to capture power at the centre, it feels that it may be able to forge ahead and even come to power in a few other states also through the left front approach. Hence its desire to come to an understanding with the CPI(M).

Neither the CPI(M) nor the CPI (left) is much concerned with foreign policy issues. All the thrusts and parryings in open jousts on ideological and foreign policy issues are for the record. They are only putting on an act. Like the BJP, they think that the Congress would disintegrate after Mrs Gandhi's time and hence their anxiety to annex as many states as possible in order to emerge as arbiters of the country's destiny, either by sharing power or monopolising it if they can.

The way the CPI is split into left and right is interesting. Rajeshwar Rao, general secretary, Rajashekhar Reddy (Andhra), M. Farooqui (Delhi), A.B. Bardhan (Maharashtra), N.E. Balaram (Kerala), Biswanath Mukherji (W. Bengal), Homi Daji (MP), Sunil Mukherji (Bihar) -- all top leaders in their respective regions are now identified with the left. Rajeshwar Rao, who remains general secretary, is supposed to be above these factions, but he has promoted two of the left leaders -- Farooqui and Bardhan -- as Politburo members in order to strengthen his own position, which was threatened at one stage, and that of the left generally. Bihar, which has the largest CPI following, is sharply divided between left and right.

As against this, the rightists of the CPI are considerably weaker. They are led by Indradeep Sinha and Joginder Sharma (Bihar), Mohit Sen (Central leader), M. Kalyanasundrah (T. Nadu), G.K. Chandrapan (Kerala), P.K. Vasudevan Nair (Kerala), H.K. Vyas (Rajasthan), Jagjit Singh Anand (Punjab), Renu Chakravarty (W. Bengal) and M.S. Krishnan (Karnataka).

N.K. Krishnan, Central leader and Politburo foreign policy expert, who is a middle-roader, is inclined to the right, and Romesh Chandra, president of the world peace council and close to Moscow, is also with the right.

In the new alignment, Bihar, the main CPI base in the north, faces the pulls and pressures of its right and left factions. Indradeep Sinha and Joginder Sharma are reported to be backing the dissident right group. Also significant is the fact that the right is now practically confined to the south and Punjab, while the main bases of the CPI (Bihar and Andhra) have gone to the left wing. It is also clear that the Hindi heartland, which lies contiguous to West Bengal and is the main base of the BJP, is also with the left; and there it is possible for the CPI(M) and the left of the CPI to come to an electoral understanding with the BJP.

The tactics of the left wingers at Varanasi to force the party to maintain a distance from Moscow, just as the CPI(M) has been doing, have deep implications. This was apparently designed to wean the party away from its support to Indira Gandhi's foreign policy, just as the Marxists once offered the carrot of unity to make the CPI expel Dange.

The CPI (left), however, wanted to prevent a wholesale revolt of the right which was accusing the leadership of disarming the CPI ideologically. Hence Rajeswara Rao had to identify the BJP as the main enemy of the people, not Indira Gandhi's government. He also conceded that he was not in favour of replacing the present government by a reactionary combine. Again, he had to take into consideration the sore feelings in the party ranks that they are not allowed to play any significant role in any of the CPI(M) dominated regions. In the circumstances the unity question remains a mere slogan, though individuals are free to walk over to either parties.

Hair-splitting is a characteristic of the communists. This time it was over national and class considerations. The question was which was more important. The left of the CPI, as was to be expected, concentrated on class struggle, as it was little concerned with national tasks, that is, foreign policy matters. The rightists, however, laid emphasis on national tasks in keeping with the perceptions of Moscow and the international communist movement. In the event, the CPI leadership gave importance to both. This approach has some obvious implications for India's domestic politics. The CPI(M) and CPI (left), freed from national tasks, would feel free to create problems for the government.

Varanasi also demonstrated the differences in perceptions of Moscow and the CPI on the Indian scene. The message of the CPSU to the 12th Congress specifically stated: "We in the Soviet Union understand what difficult problems India is faced with in overcoming the colonial aftermaths and in building a new life. These problems can be solved through the efforts of the entire nation on the basis of the unity of the left and all democratic forces in the country".

Those who are familiar with Moscow's language can get the message from this. The CPI(M)'s and CPI (left's) formulation that Indira Gandhi is building a capitalist system does not appear to have Moscow's theoretical support.

The matter was more specifically spelt out by the Soviet delegate at the conference, when he spoke of India's independent path of development which is not to the liking of the USA.

Surely, if Indira Gandhi is tilting towards capitalism, the USA would have been only too happy with her. But it has remained hostile to Mrs Gandhi and her country. This proves that in the American view the Indian path is a dangerous model for other developing countries to follow.

In the light of the above-mentioned facts, the CPI must find it difficult to evolve its rationale to keep a proper distance between itself and Mrs Gandhi. Moscow considers India's growing public sector as a unique feature in the socio-economic development of the country. In fact, Soviet ideologues believe that the Indian bourgeoisie is retarded and that in the context of the dominant public sector culture in the country, the bourgeoisie has little prospect of emerging as the dominant factor in the country.

The logic of this would be that the left should make earnest efforts to support the growth of the public sector, make sacrifices for it, in order to keep it the dominant element in the economic scene. The CPI (left) or CPI (M) would find it highly embarrassing in view of their other calculations and plans.

It is easy to say that Mrs Gandhi is promoting capitalism, but it is not a logical proposition, for unrestrained growth of capitalism would erode her power base and, what is more, subvert the national interests and ideals she holds dear to her heart by opening the floodgates to TNC [not further identified] inroads into this country.

In a mixed economy it is an almost impossible task to maintain a perfect balance and tension between the public and private sectors, since the momentum behind each is generated by different forces and motivations. To advise the government to seize the profits of the private sector is to invite anarchy.

On the other hand, there is good logic in the argument that the interests of the left and those of Mrs Gandhi converge to keep the rightist forces, which are subversive of the nation's ideals, under check. The left once perceived this truth; but today what motivates its leadership -- at least most of them -- is power and the lure of power. The pursuit of power without scruples could be a dangerous game.

It is an interesting scenario, all the same. There are wheels within wheels with the result there is neither left unity nor right unity. And what is sold to the people as a national alternative to Mrs Gandhi's Congress is neither an alternative nor quite national in its texture.

The CPI(M) has its own problems and calculations. Years of power in West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala, have softened its radical character. The Naxalites have overtaken it in radicalism. The Marxists no longer believe that power grows out of the gun barrel. By now they know the importance of money and today they are probably the richest among all the opposition parties.

The socialist of the PSP and SP hues are yet to recover from the Manata power experience. They are at sixes and sevens as they have always been. Mr Baguguna (DSP) is still nursing his ambition of launching himself on the national scene from Garhwal. But Delhi is still far off. What he will settle for and when is a matter of conjecture. Probably he will need the services of Mr Raj Narain who is at the moment out of a job. Small-time operators seeing themselves in larger-than-life role is one of the unsavoury features of Indian politics today.

Governing India is not like running a village panchayat. It needs a broad vision, dynamism, a political philosophy and, above all, popular support. Mrs Gandhi has all these, and the people know it.

INQUIRY ORDERED INTO REPORTED THEFT OF ROCKETS

BK220927 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 22 Apr 82

[Text] A court of inquiry has been ordered by the area headquarters to investigate the reported incident of theft of some air force rockets from the consignment booked by an air force unit from Alipur Duar station to the AMLA junction. This was stated by Defense Minister R. Venkataraman while replying to a calling-attention notice moved by Bhogendra Jha, Communist Party of India, and others regarding the reported recovery of air force rockets in limestone and coal wagons on different trains in Bihar.

Sharing concern of the members of the matter, the minister said the matter of safe transit of defense equipment is being seriously considered.

ASSAM DISTURBED-AREA DECLARATION EXTENDED

BK220355 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 22 Apr 82

[Text] The Assam government has declared as disturbed area for another period of 3 months from Saturday [24 April] all oil installations and areas lying within 1 km on either side of the oil pipeline. PRESS TRUST OF INDIA, quoting official sources, says the measure has been taken to ensure the security of the protected areas.

SHARI'ATMADARI STRIPPED OF AYATOLLAH TITLE

Leaders' Statement

LD212012 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Statement of the Central Council of Tehran's Militant Clergy Society]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. Militant and honorable nation of Iran, zealous and heroic compatriots of Azarbayjan: The Society of Tehran's Militant Clergy has been the vanguard of the Islamic revolution since 1963 and has been in touch with the imam of the Islamic nation and other sources of imitation during all the affairs and has some clear and outstanding examples on the hindering policy and repeated shortcomings of Mr Sha' atmadari.

The dear nation of Iran is fully aware of his confirmation of the Constitution and the imperial regime and the fact that he refused to condemn the treacherous shah until the victory of the revolution. The nation has not forgotten the Muslim People's Party Affair, the occupation of the radio and television centers in Tabriz and the attack waged by club wielders against the holy city of Qom. Throughout these affairs Mr Shari'atmadari has at least endorsed such behavior by his silence.

There are many other examples which the Society of the Militant Clergy refrained from exposing on the orders of the imam of the Islamic nation and in order to safeguard the interests of the revolution and Islam and for the sake of preserving the sanctity of the clergy and the lofty status of a source of imitation. Unfortunately, all these considerations had no effect and the said person became a refuge for the corrupt and those who wage war against God and became a consulting partner for such elements. He was aware of the issue [the recent coup plot] and by remaining silent on this criminal action, which the shah and America did not dare to carry out, he has approved of it.

As regards the judicial viewpoint, the Society of the Militant Clergy leaves the matter to the judicial authorities to investigate and issue their verdict; but the society deems it necessary to announce clearly the following: Mr Shari'atmadari does not enjoy the conditions for holding the status of a source of imitation and is not eligible for the position.

We beseech God Almighty to grant health and long life to the great leader of the revolution.

[Signed] The Central Council of Tehran's Militant Clergy Society: Mohammad Reza Mahdavi-Kani, Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, Seyyed 'Abdolkarim Musavi-Ardabili, Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Mohyeddin Anvari, Seyyed Hadi Khosrowshahi, Mostapha Maleki, Fazollah Mahallati, Abdolmajid Ma'adikhah, Akbar Nateq-Nuri, Hasan Rohani, Mohammad 'Ali Movahhedi-Kermani

Friday Imams' Statement

LD211228 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Statement issued by the Friday imams of Tabriz, Mashhad, Esfahan, Yazd and Bakhtaran]

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. The prophet, may God's peace and blessings be upon him, said: "The worst people are the corrupt ulema."

With the passing of each day in the history of the Islamic revolution, a new page of God's grace and divine bounty is opened for the great and martyr-loving Iranian nation.

Now, on the eve of the second anniversary of the military defeat of the United States at Tabas, and in continuation of the chain of conspiracies by this great Satan, the world of Islam has witnessed the discovery of another shameful plot, the contemplation of which brings sorrow to every free and noble person. This disgraceful and 100-percent American plot was hatched with the assistance and support of a pseudosource of imitation. Investigation of his actions shows him to be a worthy follower of people such as Bal'am Baura, Shorayh Qazi and Samrat ibn Junbad [leading learned people who opposed Mohammad and other prophets].

Creating obstacles ever since the beginning of the Islamic uprising and establishing secret contacts with the destroyed shah; the establishment of a center for the propagation of disunity and sedition in the united ranks of the Shi'ite clergy; opposition to any antimonarchical movement; relying upon the former decadent constitution even at the height of the fruition of the Islamic revolution; adopting a deviationist and compromising line against the decisive and direct line of the imam; conspiracy to alienate and remove some of the ulema from His Great Eminence Imam Khomeyni, may his exalted shadow continue; cooperation with the enemies of the holy principle of theocratic rule in the Council of Experts and at the time of the approval of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic; founding and strengthening the vile Muslim People's Party; incitement of a number of deceived ruffians during the attack against the Muslim and uprisen people of Qom; becoming a base for the politically bankrupt and defeated nationalist and liberal politicians; supporting the shameful and abortive Nowzheh coup d'etat with the assistance of others of his ilk who were fighting his cause; supporting and assisting this shameful plot compared to which all the former actions, despite their enormity, pale into insignificance; all these are the actions carried out by Mr Shari'atmadari before and after the Islamic revolution.

In truth, how else can one interpret such actions other than being opposed to all the devotion and self-sacrifices of the heroic forces in the fronts and the uprisen nation? How can one explain these futile attempts which are contrary to human conscience? We had and have no expectation of any good coming from these people. Our only hope was that they would do no harm.

While expressing our gratitude to the Almighty, may He be glorified and exalted, we thank and praise the Muslim and brave people of Azarbayjan who were first to take action against these disgraced individuals and who by closing their shops and taking part in marches expressed their anger and hatred of these individuals and reconfirmed their covenant with the leader of the revolution and the founder of the Islamic Republic, His Great Eminence Imam Khomeyni, may his exalted shadow continue.

We warn other plotters who are thinking of delivering blows at the holy edifice of this Islamic order, bought with the blood of tens of thousands of martyrs and injured, that their movements are not hidden from the vigilant eyes of the children of the revolution. Before it is too late and the opportunity is lost they should return to the affectionate embrace of Islam and the merciful embrace of the great nation. In step with the Islamic revolution they should engage in propagating and spreading the Islamic ideology and safeguard the fruits of this divine trust.

In view of what was said, which is only a drop in the ocean, we announce the unsuitability of and reject the competence of Mr Shari'atmadari even as a source of imitation for a single person. We beseech Almighty God for the glory and greatness of Islam and the Muslims, and the continuation of the life, health and well-being of the beloved imam.

Greetings to those who follow the path of guidance.

[Signed] Sheykh Moslem Malakuti, Mohammad Saduqi, 'Ataollah Ashrafi-Esfahani, Seyyed Jalaluddin Taheri, Sheykh Abolhasan Sharizi

House Arrest

LD212142 Tehran IRNA in English 1959 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] Tehran, 21 Apr (IRNA) -- Majlis Speaker Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani said in Tehran today that Kazem Shari'atmadari continued to stay in his own residence under the protection of the Islamic revolutionary guards as before, thereby denying rumours published by certain foreign media about his alleged arrest by the Islamic government.

Asked whether to his knowledge any of the foreign powers, including Iraq, might have [been involved] in the aborted coup, he said their involvement in the plot was probable and that investigations still continued. He said the plot was "U.S. inspired," and that in all probability Iraq should have been informed about the coup well in advance. The hojjat ol-Eslam said foreign radios had exploited the news of the scandal and had harped on it by way of sympathy with the ex-ayatollah and his supporters. He said Islamic revolutionary guards had been stationed on the roof-top of the ex-ayatollah upon his own request, and for preventing any possible assault and forcible entry to his house by people. The hojjat ol-Eslam also indicated that he and other members of the ulema did not look at the disreputed ex-ayatollah as a religious scholar worthy of recognition even long before the latter's involvement in the plot, but noted that (ever since the culmination of the Islamic revolution) the ulema had refused to denounce him officially for the sake of safeguarding the unity among the people.

Demonstrations Held

LD212140 Tehran IRNA in English 1919 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] Tabriz, 21 Apr (IRNA) -- The Muslim people of Tabriz, capital of East Azarbayjan Province, today staged a massive demonstration in the streets of the city in support of the recent statement of the faculty of the Qom theological school in which Shari'atmadari was stripped of his religious authority, and as a sign of allegiance with the leader of the revolution and the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeyni. The demonstrators, who were carrying pictures of Imam Khomeyni and placards in condemnation of Shari'atmadari, were also chanting slogans such as "Shari'atmadari, people of Azarbayjan would die but would not accept you."

After marching through the streets the demonstrators then gathered in one of the squares of the city and listened to a speech by the Tabriz Friday prayers leader who is also the representative of the Imam Khomeyni in the province, Ayatollah Malakuti.

In one part of his speech the ayatollah said a person who believed in parts of the Islamic principles and did not adhere to some others, was not a Muslim. Ayatollah Malakuti, on behalf of the Azarbayjan ulema and the Muslim people of the region who are always present in the political scene of the country, strongly condemned those who were plotting against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Directing his remarks on the former followers of Shari'atmadari, Ayatollah Malakuti asked them to discontinue following Shari'atmadari because, he added, it was haram (forbidden) to do so any more. At the end of the ceremony a seven-point resolution was issued in which the demonstrators, while pledging their support for the velayat-e faqih (religious jurisprudence), allegiance with Imam Khomeyni and the committed ulema, considered Shari'atmadari incompetent. It further stated that the Muslim people of Tabriz no longer considered Shari'atmadari a religious authority and added that he was no more a member of the Islamic, committed and revolutionary nation of Iran. The resolution stressed that for the people of the area the principles of velayat-e faqih and religious authority and leadership were crystalised in Imam Khomeyni.

Similar demonstrations were held in other cities of the province during which the revolutionary Muslim people of these cities once again reiterated their loyalty to the leader of the revolution and condemned the plotters.

The theological school of Qom as well as the city bazaar were closed today, in support of a recent statement issued by the scholars of the school on the official revocation of Shari'atmadari's status as a religious authority. The closure was followed by a mass rally staged by the Muslim people of the city against the involvement of Shari'atmadari in the recently foiled coup plot to overthrow the Islamic Republic of Iran, which was apparently masterminded by Sadeq Qotbzadeh, former foreign minister.

Similar demonstrations were also held in different regions of the country today. Meanwhile, prominent religious authorities and Friday prayers leaders in provincial cities also issued statements in condemnation of the recent plot and in deploring Shari'atmadari.

Marchers Condemn Plot

GF211540 Bandar-e 'Abbas Domestic Service in Persian 1330 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] In order to condemn the treacherous plot and the U.S. coup which was taking shape in the hands of U.S. agents and mercenaries -- the coup discovered and neutralized with the aid of the Almighty and the help of the 36-million-strong, always-on-the-scene and aware Hezbollahi nation -- faithful and Muslim residents of Hormozgan Province carried out glorious marches in their cities and districts this morning. They thus reaffirmed their ties to the imam of the nation, Khomeyni, the idol breaker, with their presence on the scene of the battle of right against wrong and proclaimed their faith in the Islamic Republic of Iran under the leadership of the glorious leader Khomeyni, the idol breaker, even at the cost of sacrificing their lives.

According to a report by the Central News Unit in Bandar-e 'Abbas, the faithful Muslim residents of Bandar-e 'Abbas gathered in front of Fatemiyeh Mosque early this morning in order to condemn the tricks of the criminal United States. They started their march with loud and echoing chants of "God is great," "There is no god but God," "Death to opposers of theocratic rule," "Our movement is Hoseyni and our leader only Khomeyni" and "Hezbollah is the imitator of Ruhollah."

The marchers passed through several streets chanting "The curse of every freedom lover is on Qotbzadeh," "Coup d'etat, coup d'etat has no meaning in the Islamic country" and "This is the opinion of the heroic nation, Islamic courts: retaliation, retaliation!" They then gathered in Bandar-e 'Abbas' Imam Mosque and heard a speech by Hojjat ol-Eslam Qambari, shar' magistrate of Hormozgan Province Islamic Revolution Courts. He referred to a verse of the holy book and then revealed a portion of the activities of Mr Shari'atmadari since June 1963. He urged the always-aware and on-the-scene Hezbollahi nation, especially the theological students and Qom seminarians, not to accept Shari'atmadari's scholarships and also told those who had uniformly imitated him to cease doing so since he is no longer a competent source of imitation.

The shar' magistrate of Hormozgan Province, in another part of his speech, while condemning the foiled treacherous coup d'etat of Sadeq Qotbzadeh, the U.S. mercenary, reviewed empty and futile aspects of this plot. He pointed out that so long as the people are on the scene and continue to further the revolution under the leadership of the great leader Imam Khomeyni, international oppression will never be able to harm the holy revolution in any manner.

A nine-point resolution was read following this speech and approved with loud chants by the marchers. The resolution condemned the plot of international oppression, the U.S. coup d'etat by a number of monarchists, National Front members, pseudoclergymen and politically bankrupt persons headed by CIA agent Sadeq Qotbzadeh. It also announced hatred for the pseudoclergy and called for their defrocking.

The marchers also asked for the open and immediate trial of the coupists. After the resolution, a statement by Hormozgan seminarians was read by Hojjat ol-Eslam Heydarzadeh, the imam's representative in the provincial reconstruction crusade.

Qom Strikes

LD211140 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] In the wake of the discovery of a recent plot by American agents and the revelation by the association of teachers of the Qom seminary, our correspondent, contacting the offices of Their Great Eminences Ayatollahs Montazeri and Golpayegani, has learned that lectures by Their Great Eminences Ayatollahs Golpayegani and Montazeri have been canceled and the Qom seminary has closed down as a sign of condemnation of this plot and of its ringleaders.

According to the report, the city of Qom was today totally closed down and the citizens of the city took part in a gigantic march in solid ranks.

Free Voice of Iran Report

NC202351 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Excerpts] A Free Voice of Iran correspondent reports that there are rumors that State Minister Behzad Nabavi, Petroleum Minister engineer Gharazi, several members of the Islamic Majlis and a number of (?ministers) whose names have not yet been revealed are among the people arrested [in connection with the coup plot].

The Free Voice of Iran correspondent reports from Tehran that parts of Sadeq Qotbzadeh's remarks in the television interview were censored and that even the remarks by the military courts' shar' magistrate, Reyshahri, were perceptibly (?distorted). Reyshahri said in his interview yesterday that once the charges brought against Sadeq Qotbzadeh are proven, he will be sentenced to death. Reyshahri also stated that the Namara organization, the organization of armed revolutionary forces [sazman-e niruha-ye mosallah-e enqelabi], which is under the command of Brigadier General Pezeshkpur and headquartered in Paris, was involved in the coup plot.

Speaking in Paris, Brigadier General Pezeshkpur described Reyshahri's remarks as an outright lie and announced that he has had no contacts whatsoever with persons who have been arrested on charges of attempting a coup. Brigadier General Pezeshkpur has said that the Namara organization, which is based outside Iran, is preparing for an armed struggle against Khomeyni's regime, that it has no contacts whatsoever with the armed forces within Iran, and that Reyshahri's condemnations are aimed at (?purging) the armed forces and other security organizations.

The Free Voice of Iran correspondent adds in his report that every once in a while the Islamic Republic brings up the topic of attempts to carry out coups and to overthrow the regime in a bid to execute officers and NCO's and to crush its opponents. It uses these pretexts to send several innocent but dissatisfied people to the gallows.

According to the Free Voice of Iran correspondent's report, Ayatollah Shari'atmadari, whose residence is under the complete siege of Khomeyni's revolution guards, issued a statement in Qom denying any connection with the coup plotters and described this as a lie made and polished by the regime's officials.

Meanwhile, cables of protest continue to flood An-Najaf and other religious cities in relation to the profanity against Ayatollah Shari'atmadari.

Dr Seyyed Mehdi Pirasteh, the founder of the national organization of Iranians devoted to freedom, has sent a cable from (?Canada) to Ayatollah (?Qomi) in An-Najaf and other Shi'a religious leaders in Iran, India and Pakistan in which he strongly protests the abuses against Ayatollah Shari'atmadari and his relatives.

The Iranian Liberation Army, ARA, which issues a publication with the same name, has strongly condemned the aggression against Ayatollah Shari'atmadari's residence. ARA's statement says that a large number of the brave members of the Iranian Armed Forces have been arrested in Azarbayjan. In its statement, the Iranian Liberation Army has called on all antiregime groups in Iran and abroad to rise together with the brave Armed Forces personnel of Iran to overthrow the oppression and corruption ruling Iran. The statement says that the regime has found a new opportunity and has decided to silence all opposing voices, including the sincere voice of Ayatollah Shari'atmadari. While condemning this new crime, the Iranian Liberation Army expects the other (?religious leaders) who have not submitted to Khomeyni so far to act according to their national and Islamic duty under the present sensitive conditions in rousing the people so that we can act in unison and unity and cleanse our dear Iran as soon as possible from the existence of the ruling satans.

An unconfirmed report states that Ayatollah Shari'atmadari and 27 of his relatives were transferred to an unknown place last night. Our correspondent reports that an extraordinary situation prevailed in Tehran today. The regime's revolution guards had all the city's sensitive points under surveillance. The situation in the cities of Azarbayjan, especially Tabriz and Reza'iyeh, is tense and disturbed, and the brave people of Azarbayjan are preparing themselves for an insurgence against the regime's inhumane acts and are moving in groups toward (?Qom) to find out about the fate of their religious leader. They are determined to inflict a strong blow on the miscreant traitors who have placed the highest religious leader of the country under pressure, harassments and (?denigrations).

Greetings to the people of Azarbayjan! Greetings to the brave children of [word indistinct] and (?Bazargan). Greetings to the brave men of [words indistinct] Sabalan! The Free Voice of Iran, too, wishes to express its deep regret and sadness over this unpleasant incident.

Pro-Shari'atmadari Action

NC220912 (Clandestine) Voice of Iran in Persian 1805 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Summary] Our correspondents have reported that "strong clashes occurred on Wednesday between the regime's revolution guards and supporters of Ayatollah Shari'atmadari in Qom, Tehran, Mashhad, Tabriz and some other cities." No precise figures are available on the number of dead but it is believed that "dozens of people on both sides have been killed" and many have been wounded. Reports also speak of arrests of Ayatollah Shari'atmadari's supporters in these cities.

Reports by our correspondents in Qom state that Ayatollah Shari'atmadari's supporters have "decisively decided to resist until the final downfall of Khomeyni's regime."

Meanwhile reports state that slogans in support of Shari'atmadari can be seen on the walls in Tehran, Tabriz and Mashhad and that on Wednesday night "patriotic Iranian soldiers" who are defending Iranian territories shouted slogans in unison in support of the ayatollah.

Several clergymen and others in Tabriz and in surrounding towns issued a statement on Tuesday, which was distributed by night, in which they protested the incorrect claims made by the ruling regime and endorsed Ayatollah Shari'atmadari's stance.

The statement, which also bears the signature of respectable Tabriz bazaaris, says that Ayatollah Shari'atmadari's "stance on the country's current affairs is correct and manifests his impartiality and honesty" and that no less than this could be expected from such a person. The statement categorically rules out the participation of the Shi'ite leader in "the plot by one treacherous group against another treacherous group" and calls on the people to close down their shops and businesses on Wednesday and to "rebel against Khomeyni's Yazidi regime."

RAFSANJANI ON SHARI'ATMADARI, PEACE MISSIONS

LD212350 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Interview with Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly; date and place not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Mr Hashemi, our combatants on the fronts are concerned over the shuttling back and forth of peace delegations. They are afraid that the aggressor, who is well known and who has claimed so many victims and inflicted so many casualties and losses on the nations of Iran and Iraq, may get away unpunished. Could you give us your opinion about the punishment and the method of its enforcement?

[Answer] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. There is nothing for our combatants to worry about, because when these delegations come we tell them that which is accepted by the combatants, the imam and the state officials and people. We have rights which we have specified, and as long as they are denied us we cannot make peace: the aggressor's unconditional withdrawal, payment of damages and conviction of the aggressor. The latter would be the right thing for a group or delegation to do. We have added to this the repatriation of the Iraqi refugees. When they fulfill all these for us, Saddam will no longer be able to stay in power. If they do not fulfill these, we shall continue our job and obtain our rights by force. We will obtain our rights.

Of course, the recent delegation moved closer to us to some extent, closer to our wishes, but there is still some distance. None of these delegations say that our demands are unjust. They say: You forgive; be modest; Saddam (?is bad). We say: Saddam has dug his own grave; we cannot save Saddam by making concessions. We will reach our objectives either by total victory on the battlefield or by the surrender of the Iraqi Ba'th Party. Both would end in the downfall of Saddam, who is responsible for all this oppression.

[Question] A group of people say that after every victory achieved by our combatants the activities of peace delegations intensify. What is your opinion about the motives of and the philosophy behind these shuttles?

[Answer] If this is true, if the peace efforts intensify after each victory, we say that it is because there are centers which do not want to see Iran get out of this war with absolute victory, or that efforts are being made to preserve Saddam in a semiactive state. Some of these delegations have been coming here since the first days of the war. They came before we had achieved any victories. Of course, if we had accepted the views of these delegations in those days Iraq would have remained in our country and we would have had to wait for years and make concessions to get it to leave our country. This could have been hard on us.

When they came in the middle of the war they used to say: Start talks and Iraq will withdraw afterwards.

Lately, they do not even say this. They have come to the point where they say: Iraq must withdraw before talks. I do not know whether Saddam has accepted this or not. This is what they say. Of course, that could be true or may be. [sentence as heard] The delegations are well-wishing people who want to end the war. We also want the war to end, but in a proper way.

[Question] In the opinion of international political circles, the days of Saddam's regime are numbered and it will fall soon. What is your opinion about the next Iraqi regime and its nature? How do you envisage the relationship between Iran and the new Iraqi regime?

[Answer] I don't know from what international circles you obtained opinions. If you mean the West's loudspeakers, they are at sixes and sevens and are floundering in a morass; if you mean the world's (?circles), yes, basically Saddam staged this war as a means to preserve his rule. While Saddam is putting the people of Iraq under such enormous pressure and a majority, nearly all, of the Iraqi people are opposing Saddam's regime, (?it is obvious that) Saddam's days are numbered. He can save himself only by these methods.

Regarding Iraq's future, Iraq is to some extent different from Iran. This unity of expression among the people of Iran, under the imam's decisive leadership and with the presence of the clergy, does not exist in Iraq. What one can say about Iraq is that a popular government is the final and correct fate for it. If the desires of the majority of the people are enforced, the situation will be stabilized.

The correct solution is a government of the people, neither imposed by us nor by any other country. Otherwise, a severe dictatorship could be imposed on Iraq, one worse than the dictatorship of the 'Aflaqite Ba'th because people would have greater expectations and suppressing people would require more executions, or, Iraq will disintegrate, which would be worse. Therefore, I think the correct path and destiny for the people of Iraq is a popular government. If there are people who are friends of the region, friends of the Iraqi people and friends of Islam, they must make an effort to help the Iraqis reach this goal.

[Question] My next question concerns the recent events. Could you give us your opinion about the [words indistinct] statement issued by the teachers of Qom seminary regarding Mr Shari'atmadari?

[Answer] These gentlemen, who refer to themselves as the teachers' association, are all, or a decisive majority of them, religious leaders and experts. They have been in the seminary and know the gentlemen and are aware of the events. Their opinion -- the opinion of this group -- is a strong one that cannot be ignored.

The story is logical. This was their main point: His excellency has admitted that he knew of the plot, that they had told him. We could accept that his involvement does not go beyond knowledge of the plot. Of course, Mr Qotbzadeh has said that his excellency had promised to confirm the story, and a sum of (?600,000) tomans has also been mentioned. Of course, we don't know everything yet; there might be more to come.

If we imagine that the (?case is) exactly as Mr Shari'atmadari claims and that his excellency knew about the plot, this knowledge is not a simple matter. If the coup had taken place, a number of people would have been killed. Even if the coup had not been successful there would have been casualties in any case. A number of people would have been killed, losses would have occurred and there would have been trouble. He says he believes in the Islamic Republic. If he does and if this Muslim blood must [words indistinct], why did he not do anything to stop the bloodshed? If his excellency was unable to understand this danger, this would be a sign of weakness and would detract from his religious leadership. If someone did not understand this danger, he would not have the competence to be a religious leader. If his excellency understood and realized the danger but at the same time ignored it, this would be a kind of lack of virtue, seeing such a danger facing the people, the government and the Islamic society and doing nothing to stop it. A religious authority cannot be ignorant to such an extent and cannot be without virtue to such an extent. It seems that his excellency's explicit confession has cleared the matter. Of course, we did not consider his excellency to be pious [competent for his position] before; with (?this confession) I think that those who did consider him to be pious have no choice now.

[Question] You are aware that before the discovery of the recent coup, the coup conspiracy, foreign radios, including the Iraqi radio, broadcast a series of discussions and commentaries about Mr Shari'atmadari's reverence. What relationship do you see between the Iraqi regime and this coup plan?

[Answer] There is a difference between guessing something and talking about it with knowledge. Regarding the knowledge, as far as I have been informed investigations have not shown any clear connection; they do not show any specific relationship. However, we think that all of the centers -- Iraq, Paris, America and perhaps Saudi Arabia and all of the others -- have been related. One of the points referred to in the statements is that one of the reactionary countries in the region (?maybe America), was supposed to take some action in Iraq on the same day that they were supposed to start work here; perhaps there was a joint program. What Mr Reyshahri said when explaining this matter very clearly showed the fact that the matter has American roots. Naturally, a place like Iraq, which these days has been transformed into a toy in the hands of America, and has forces in our territory, cannot remain uninformed. They must have been involved. This was all before the coup plot was discovered; it has been made even clearer after the coup was discovered.

Almost all of the foreign radios specifically raise this issue. People such as Bakhtiar, Azhari, Bani-Sadr, Amini, Rajavi and Reza Pahlavi and radios such as America's, BBC, Cologne, Israel and the other existing Persian-language radios have all raised the current issue with the hope that they could provoke some of the Iranian people. They express sorrow and grief and say that his excellency's house has been besieged by revolution guards. The fact of the matter is that his excellency virtually begs the guards not to leave his neighborhood; his excellency is afraid of the people and he is right to be afraid. Of course, we hereby ask people to not take any actions like that; they must not approach his house because the judiciary and security officials are doing their jobs. Of course, guardsmen are guarding his excellency's house; they are even guarding his excellency's rooftop in case somebody should try to cause trouble there.

They keep making all this noise [words indistinct] the Iranian nation and the friends of the Iranian nation. The others, who are the enemies, have stopped making noise and are now hypocritically expressing sorrow. They are all related to one another.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

VELAYATI: POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN PEACE PROPOSALS

LD211304 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] Mr 'Ali Akbar Velayati, the foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, this morning took part in a press conference and answered correspondent's questions on various topics, particularly on the comings and goings of peace missions.

According to a Central News Unit correspondent, Mr Velayati, stressing the Islamic Republic of Iran's peace positions, declared at the press conference that the delegation appointed by the Islamic Conference, led by Mr Ahmed Sekou Toure, the Guinea president, who is a respected personality, brought a proposal which, from our standpoint, contains certain positive elements compared with the previous proposals, but it is still far from the conditions we have in mind.

Regarding the reason for the comings and goings of peace missions, our country's foreign minister said the Islamic Republic of Iran prefers peace to war, and it stresses this matter. Any mediation delegation wishing to come to Iran will be welcomed by us. There is no obstacle to their coming to Tehran. We, as a host, will welcome those with good will toward establishing peace. Our conditions for peace, however, are constant. A war has been imposed on us by the Iraqi regime. In this war we are in fact defending our Islamic and Iranian identity, our territorial integrity and honor.

He added: We have frequently declared the principles of our positions, and these are constant. However, the political situation in the world and in the region as well as on the fronts is subject to change. The peace missions are engaged in considering ways of bringing about a peaceful end to the war by taking into consideration these factors and these new developments.

Regarding the recent plan submitted by the delegation appointed by the Islamic Conference, Mr Velayati said the plan was considered at the level of the political authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the next day, when the delegation headed by Mr Habib Chatti, the Islamic Conference secretary general came to Iran, a reply was given them. In reply to the plan, while commending their humanitarian efforts to bring about peace, we said that the plan is far from the conditions we had in mind, and we once again reminded them of our just conditions and principles, noting that the right of the returnees [as heard] to return to their country must be protected.

Regarding the outcome of talks with the special envoy of the UN secretary general on resolving the Afghanistan issue, Mr Velayati, referring to our country's positions regarding the resolution of the Afghanistan issue, said that the United Nations has a plan which we can accept provided our conditions are included in it. Given this, we shall hold talks on the matter.

Regarding a visit to Iran by Mr Jallud, the Libyan prime minister, our country's foreign minister said that the visit is in response to an invitation from Mr Musavi, our country's prime minister; the foreign ministers of Libya and Algeria will also come to Iran at the invitation of their Iranian counterparts.

In conclusion, our country's foreign minister described the purpose of his visit to India as being connected with the overall policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran on developing relations with the Third World. He said that India is a country close to us; we have certain things common between us, historical, religious and cultural ties between the two nations are strong, both countries are members of the Nonaligned Movement. He stressed that about 120 million Muslims live in India, and we are going to India with this in mind.

CABINET DISCUSSES ICO PEACE PROPOSALS

LD211218 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Excerpts] According to a Central News Unit report, the Cabinet of the Islamic Republic of Iran held a session this morning with Prime Minister Mir-Hoseyn Musavi in the chair. At this session, after discussing and reviewing the imposed war, the domestic and foreign plots against the Islamic Republic were discussed, and Prime Minister Musavi, analyzing the country's developments, stated:

The mighty hand of God is manifest in the successive demolition of the bases of the great Satan and in the miraculous fall of these bases, which had been set up in various forms by infernal CIA organizations and by superpowers against the Islamic revolution and is a tangible expression of God's promises to the selfless and resistant Islamic nation.

According to the report, at today's Cabinet session, Mr Velayati reported on the talks by the Islamic peace delegation, and said: The delegation's proposals contained certain new elements, but they are still far from the conditions set by Iran.

ARMED FORCES JOINT STAFF COMMUNIQUE 862

LD211744 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Communique 862 of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran]

[Text] In His exalted name. Part of the operations and self-sacrifices by our combatants and the situation on the battlefronts as follows:

Yesterday sporadic exchange of fire continued on the western fronts. Near Salehabad, Sumar, Gilan-e Gharb and Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, several Iraqi positions and assembly points were destroyed and several Saddamists killed. Our combatants, while destroying two tanks, also damaged two Iraqi helicopters. In the Sumar sector, our forces destroyed one machinegun.

Our forces shelled Iraqi forces in Toveyleh and Shushmi, causing some losses and damage.

In the Panjwin, Tutmal and Biarreh sectors, several Iraqi assembly points and one anti-aircraft gun were destroyed and several Iraqi troops were either killed or wounded.

Sporadic exchanges of fire continue on the southern fronts between our powerful and victorious forces and the Iraqi Armed Forces. Any movement or activity by the Saddamist forces on these fronts are not hidden from the sight and powerful fire of the warriors of Islam. The brave combatants of the navy on the Khorramshahr and Abadan fronts opened fire on Iraqi positions and destroyed more than 13 trenches, foxholes and observation posts of the enemy. Several enemy troops were killed.

Yesterday our ever-vigilant air defense units repulsed the enemy's airraids and forced their violating planes to flee.

SUCCESSFUL GUERRILLA OPERATION REPORTED

LD211748 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] According to IRNA, the brave and self-sacrificing tribesmen from the Mobilization of the Oppressed unit of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, during some guerrilla operations which were carried out with the full cooperation of an artillery unit of the armed forces this morning, killed or wounded at least 60 Saddamists in the Meymak sector.

Five trucks, one command car, one 122-mm mortar and several trenches were set on fire and destroyed. The corpses of the Iraqi dead were buried by our combatants in accordance with the Shari'a regulations. Our warriors also captured some enemy weapons, ammunition and equipment as booty and returned to their base safely.

'SENSITIVE' HEIGHT CAPTURED FROM KURDISH REBELS

LD211804 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] According to a Central News Unit report quoting the Public Relations Office of the Central Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, our forces captured the sensitive heights of Dolarezan after a 7-hour battle. These operations, which started at 0300 on 20 April, ended this morning and the counterrevolutionaries hastily fled the scene, leaving behind a large number of dead and wounded.

It should be noted that the treacherous leader of the defunct Kurdish Democratic Party had claimed that if the forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran were able to capture the Dolarezan heights he and his clique would have to surrender to Iranian forces and would have to lay down their arms.

GENDARMERIE SUCCESSES AGAINST 'BANDITS' NOTED

LD211814 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] According to the Central News Unit, the Public Relations Office of the Central Islamic Revolution Guard Corps has announced that, early this morning, the brave gendarmerie combatants, in full coordination with the self-sacrificing warriors of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps and supported by the artillery fire of the Armed Forces, began mopping-up operations on the Kamyaran-Marivan axis to cleanse the area of bandits affiliated with world arrogance.

During these operations, the Gavaneh region, Yakshabeh heights, the Shirin Kavar, Charmsaleh and (?Nisura) regions were fully cleansed and were occupied by our victorious troops. Also, in these operations a large number of mercenaries affiliated with counterrevolutionary minigroups were either killed or wounded.

On the same day, the Guards Corps launched an attack on the Marivan-Saggez axis, supported by the self-sacrificing personnel of the Airborne Division. The attack cleansed bandits from three villages.

SAFE HOUSE DISCOVERED, RAIDED IN MASHHAD

LD212102 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Statement issued by the Public Relations Office of the Central Islamic Revolution Committee]

[Text] In His exalted name. "God has verily promised hypocrites of both sexes and infidels the fires of hell where they will remain forever." [Koranic verse]

While the elements duped by world arrogance who with their disordered and infantile attitude strove toward, as it were, the overthrow of the regime of the Islamic Republic are suffering disgraceful defeat, the guards of the Islamic revolution committees continue to wage fight against the antipeople hypocrites organization as a sacred duty.

According to a report received from the Public Relations Office of Mashhad's Islamic Revolution Committee, our brother guards from Mashhad's Islamic Revolution Committee succeeded during the evening of 19 April in discovering and capturing a safe house of corruption of the reactionary hypocrites' minigroup and in a short shootout they succeeded in killing one of the important cadres of the hypocrites and in capturing another three active members of this minigroup.

In the meantime, evidence, proofs and handwritten organizational documents speaking of the hypocrites' cooperation and links with the recent abortive coup under the leadership of the traitor Qotbzadeh were seized in the safe house.

We hope for the earliest disgrace and destruction of counterrevolution in its various guises.

KURDISH LEADER VIEWS ANTI-KHOMEYNI STRUGGLE

PM201519 Paris LE MATIN in French 15 Apr 82 p 13

[Yves Martin interview with Kurdish Democratic Party secretary general Abdorrahman Qasemlu in Paris: "The Iranian Mullahs Accused" -- date not given]

[Text] LE MATIN: What is the situation like in Iranian Kordestan?

Qasemlu: The war between us and Khomyeni's regime has been going on for 2 years and 6 months. The blockade against us has forced us to leave the big cities. Indeed, we were unable to ensure supplies to them. However, we control the half of Kurdish territory south of Tabriz, in other words 60,000 square km. That poses problems. Especially economic problems. The central government is depriving us of all oil supplies. However, a large section of our agriculture is mechanized. The harvest was good last year; that will probably not be the case this year. There is also a complete blockade on other goods like paper, milk, industrial products and especially medicines. Despite those deprivations, 12,000 peshmerga (Kurdish guerrillas) and 60,000 armed peasants are challenging the presence of 85,000 pasdaran (revolution guards) and pro-Khomeyni soldiers using Phantoms, helicopters and tanks against us.

Nonetheless, that guerrilla war is not diverting us from the administration of the territories which we control. Moreover, we are shortly going to hold elections in order to set up village councils. Two main parties will campaign: the KDP and Komeleh (Marxist-Leninist) have most influence in the cities among students and schoolchildren.

LE MATIN: How do you acquire the arms which you have?

Qasemlu: We confiscated many of them from the garrisons of the shah's armed forces. We lack supplies more than weapons. We buy them either from the Iranian Army or from foreign countries. And then there is smuggling, which is a prosperous branch of our economy....

LE MATIN: What kind of relations do you have with your Kurdish brothers in neighboring countries?

Qasemlu: We are Kurds, but we are Iranians. And only the Iranian Kurdish problem interests us. That is why we are struggling for democracy in Iran and for an autonomous Iranian Kurdistan. That does not prevent us from helping the other Kurdish organizations in Turkey or Iraq. However, that does not include the organization of Barzani's sons, who have become Khomeyni mercenaries. They previously collaborated with the shah and helped to crush our movement in 1967 and 1968. Today they are taking part in military operations against us, and there can therefore be no question of reaching any compromise with them.

LE MATIN: What picture would you paint of Iran's economic and social situation?

Qasemlu: Record inflation, 6 million people unemployed and 40 percent of factories closed. An interminable and costly war with Iraq. A growing influx of refugees coming from the border regions but also from Afghanistan; there are more than 3.5 million of them in all, in other words 10 percent of the population. Finally, oil production, which has fallen to 1 million barrels per day.

Since the country consumes one-third of that, Iran only earns \$600 to \$700 million per month from its oil. However, the mullahs make no secret of the fact that they need \$1.5 billion per month. How are they going to deal with that? They are issuing excessive quantities of paper money, selling the last gold reserves, misappropriating the carpets, diamonds and all the precious goods which are found in auctions in London or elsewhere.

LE MATIN: Is that situation producing divisions within the ruling classes?

Qasemlu: When Bani-Sadr left some people thought that the ruling class was going to be united, but they were mistaken. Some 3 weeks ago, when people began to refer to Khomeyni's illness, Ayatollah Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic, suggested forming a five-man committee to succeed him. Scarcely had he mentioned their names than Ayatollah Montazeri, Khomeyni's religious successor in Qom, immediately put forward three more. As can be seen, the succession promises to be difficult. That is especially so since divisions are appearing among the leaders on the role which Islam should have in Iranian society. For instance, Majlis Speaker Ayatollah Rafsanjani, together with liberals like Bazargan, would readily envisage an alternative which would be Islamic but in a liberalized form.

Two other paths are possible; that of the monarchists seems least likely. Bakhtiar and the royal family can only return to power by a coup d'etat. And only the army can ensure that. But the army has been dismantled, and Khomeyni is certainly in no hurry to see it return to the barracks. Tactically-speaking, the war suits him.

Finally, the last path is the democratic path of the National Resistance Council chaired by Mas'ud Rajavi, to which we belong, together with the Mojahedin (progressive Muslims). If that council is able to open up further, particularly to the middle classes, it has a chance of coming to power. But in any case it will only do so by an armed insurrection. I do not think it is possible to overthrow this regime other than by force.

LE MATIN: Bani-Sadr fought you for a long time and you are now agreeing to cooperate with him. How do you explain that change of attitude?

Qasemlu: I have indeed met Bani-Sadr in Paris during meetings of the council of which I am a member. But I would like to say that it is not I who have changed camp; it is he who has joined our camp. He has finally realized that the Khomeyni regime must be fought. Moreover that is what he did during the last year of his presidency. And we appreciated that, since we invited him to come and live in Kordestan if he wanted to.

LE MATIN: You have not mentioned the communist Tudeh Party; is its influence unimportant? What about terrorism, to what political forces do you attribute it?

Qasemlu: We have not had relations with the Tudeh since the beginning of the Islamic revolution, since it has been collaborating with Khomeyni. In addition, 18 months ago the communists tried to dismantle our party by forming a faction within our Central Committee, but they failed. Today they are denouncing our peshmerga cadres hiding in the cities and are trying to seize a few key positions in the government. They are forgetting one thing: Iran is not Afghanistan.

As for terrorism, let me make it clear that we do not support individual terrorism, hijacking or the taking of hostages, and we condemned the hostage taking at the American Embassy. Our only objectives, like those of the Mojahedin, are military and strategic. I will not say the same for the government forces. It is now known that the fire at the Rex Cinema in Abadan was the work of the mullahs. And the investigation of that crime was never carried through. There is a saying in Iran that where there is one mullah things are fine, but where there are two the problems begin....

CLANDESTINE ISSUES CALL TO AHVAZ ARAB CITIZENS

GF190723 (Clandestine) Ahvaz Voice of Al-Qadisiyah in Arabic 0500 GMT 19 Apr 82

[Unattributed call to the Ahvaz Arab citizens]

[Text] Oh Arab citizens in Ahvaz: For 56 years the racist Persians, the enemies of freedom and humanity, have been trying to subjugate us to their domination. However, our Arab character, humanity, national stand, strong will, magnanimity and genuineness have enabled us to refuse to accept humiliation and to hold our heads high everywhere and at all times.

Today we continue our victorious march. Our enemies are the losers, humiliated and despised. Everyone knows that we will not put down our arms until our goals are fulfilled, our Arab character is victorious and until the banner of Arabism is hoisted high in the sky of Ahvaz; until the enemy finds himself -- through fighting -- forced to recognize our rights and abandon his pride, arrogance and tyranny; until the Karun River becomes Arab property again; until Abadan joins Al-Muhammarah and Al-Khafajiyah joins Hoveyzeh, until the Karkheh River is welded to Al-Hamidiyah and all the Arab land of Ahvaz is liberated; until the heads of Al-Musha'sha'iyin and the Al-Ka'biyin leaders are raised high and all Arab tribes express their joy on this land; and until every Arab who has tasted the bitterness of occupation tastes victory and liberation. Victory comes only from God.